

# **TAKING DEMOCRACY SERIOUSLY: WORKER SURVEY**

**ANALYSED FOR  
SOCIOLOGY OF WORK UNIT**

**BY THE  
COMMUNITY AGENCY FOR SOCIAL ENQUIRY**

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# MAIN FINDINGS

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## INTRODUCTION

This study is a follow up of similar studies done before the 1994 and 1998 elections which were published in the book titled "Taking Democracy Seriously: Worker expectations and the Parliamentary Democracy in South Africa", and in several journals.

The focus of the overall study is on the largest federation in South Africa – COSATU – as well as its affiliation to the ANC and SACP. It looks at worker attitudes on the upcoming 2004 elections and the importance of trade unions in South Africa.

A total of 663 questionnaires were captured and the results analysed. Frequencies were done for all the questions and cross-tabulations were done for some of the questions to establish if there were any relationships between the variables.

## DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

### Q2 Name of COSATU union

Union	N	%
NUMSA	90	14%
POPCRU	88	13%
SACTWU	80	12%
NUM	55	8%
SAMWU	49	8%
FAWU	48	7%
SADTU	46	7%
NEHAWU	44	7%
SACCAWU	40	6%
CEPPAWAWU	34	5%
CWU	30	5%
SATAWU	20	3%
SASBO	10	2%
HOSPERSA	8	1%
Non-members	7	1%
NATU	6	1%
UASA	1	0%
SAAPAWU	1	0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>657</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 1: Which COSATU union do you belong to?**

NUMSA had the largest number of members in the sample (14%), followed closely by POPCRU (13%) and SACTWU (12%). Only 1 % of respondents were not members of unions.

## Union sectors

For purposes of analysis, the unions listed above were categorised into 5 union sectors: manufacturing, municipal and public sector, mining, transport, and other. CEPPAWAWU, SACTWU, SAAPAWU, FAWU and NUMSA were categorised as “manufacturing”; NEHAWU, SAMWU, POPCRU, and SADTU were categorised as “municipal and public sector”; NUM was categorised as “mining”, SATAWU was categorised as “transport”; and CWU, HOSPERSA, NATU, UASA, SACCAWU, SASBO, and non-members were categorised as “other”. The following table represents the distribution of workers by union sector:

Union	%
Manufacturing	39%
Municipal and public sector	35%
Mining	8%
Transport	3%
Other	16%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 2: Name of COSATU union (N=663)**

The majority of the respondents either belonged to manufacturing unions (39%) or to municipal and public sector unions (35%). Sixteen percent of the respondents came from other forms of unions while 8% of the workers were members of mining unions. The remaining 3% of the respondents were from transport unions.

## Q4 Sector

Sector	N	%
Crime and correctional services	85	13%
Textiles and clothing	83	13%
Manufacturing	74	12%
Education	65	10%
Commercial	60	9%
Other	53	8%
Mining	49	8%
Municipal services	48	8%
Health	34	5%
Food	32	5%
Distribution	21	3%
Pulp and paper	11	2%
Transport	10	2%
Chemical	10	2%
Telecommunications	8	1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>643</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 3: Respondents by sector**

The largest portion of respondents (13%) worked in the crime and correctional services sector, followed by those working in clothing and textiles (13%). Respondents in the “other” category reported working in administration, cleaning, customer service, and construction.

## Industrial sector

For purposes of analysis, the industrial sectors which respondents reported belonging to were recoded into 5 broad categories, “manufacturing”, “mining”, “Municipal and public sector”, “transport”, and “other”. “Manufacturing” included respondents in manufacturing, textiles and clothing, and chemical. “Mining” included all those respondents in mining. “Municipal and public sector” included all those respondents who reported working in municipal services, health services, education, and crime and correctional services. All other industries were coded as “other”.



Sector	%
Municipal and public sector	40%
Manufacturing	24%
Mining	8%
Transport	2%
Other	26%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 4: Sector (N=663)**

Just under half of the workers (40%) came from the municipal and public sector while 26% of the respondents belonged to other forms of unions. Respondents from the manufacturing sector made up 24% of the sample while respondents from the mining and transport sector made up the remaining 10% of the sample.

That the proportion of respondents in a particular industrial sector does not correspond to the proportion of respondents in the recoded unions may be attributable to overlaps in the recoding or to the fact that some unions cut across sectors.

### Q5 Name of COSATU region

Region	%
Gauteng	37%
Western Cape	21%
Eastern Cape	20%
KZN	16%
North West	7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 5: COSATU region (N=663)**

The COSATU region that had the most respondents was Gauteng (37%) while the North West Province region had the least respondents (7%). The respondents from the Western Cape region made up 21% of the sample while respondents from the Eastern Cape made up 20% of the sample. Sixteen percent of the respondents came from KZN.

## Q6 Town/nearest urban centre

<b>Town</b>	<b>%</b>
Johannesburg	25%
Cape Town	20%
Durban	9%
Port Elizabeth	7%
East London	6%
Pretoria	5%
Pietermaritzburg	5%
Uitenhage	3%
Springs	2%
Rustenburg	2%
Olifantstein	2%
Klerksdorp	2%
King Williams Town	2%
Carletonville	2%
Bisho	2%
Belville	2%
Vanderbijlpark	1%
Pinetown	1%
Orkney	1%
Germiston	1%
Boksburg	1%
Benoni	1%
Alberton	1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 6: Town/nearest urban centre (N=645)**

Respondents came from a wide variety of towns.

## SECTION A: BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

### Q8 Gender

Gender	%
Male	66%
Female	34%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 7: Gender (N=655)**

Two thirds of respondents were male and the rest were female.

### Q9 Age

Age	%
18-25	6%
26-35	30%
36-45	40%
46-55	20%
56-65	4%
66 and over	0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 8: Age (N=655)**

Most respondents (70%) were between the ages of 26 and 45. Only 6% of respondents were between 18 and 25 years old, while only 4% of respondents were between the ages of 56 and 65.

## Q10 Occupational category as defined by the company

Occupational category	%
Skilled	42%
Semi-skilled	26%
Unskilled	12%
Supervisor	9%
Clerical	8%
Other	2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 9: Occupational category (N=654)**

Most respondents (42%) categorized themselves as skilled workers. A sizeable proportion (26%) classified themselves as semi-skilled, while 12% said that they were unskilled. Only 9% of respondents were supervisors, while 8% were clerical workers.

## Q11 Security of tenure

Security of tenure	%
Permanent contract full-time	92%
Fixed term contract (temporary) full-time	5%
Permanent contract part-time	2%
Fixed term contract (temporary) part-time	2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 10: Security of tenure (N=655)**

A large majority of respondents (92%) said that they were employed full time under permanent contracts. Only 7% of respondents were employed under a fixed-term contract, while 4% said that they were employed on a part time basis.

Industrial sector	Fixed-term	Permanent	%	N
Manufacturing	5%	95%	100%	152
Mining	10%	90%	100%	49
Municipal and public sector	7%	93%	100%	255
Transport	0%	100%	100%	13
Other	12%	88%	100%	167
<b>Total</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>92%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>636</b>

**Table 11: Security of tenure by industrial sector**

As is shown above, the vast majority of respondents across all industrial sectors were full-time workers on permanent contracts. Due to the paucity of respondents with other contractual arrangements, the presence or absence of a relationships between industrial sector and security of tenure could not be established.

Union	Fixed term	Permanent	%	N
Manufacturing	4%	96%	100%	250
Mining	7%	93%	100%	55
Municipal and public sector	4%	97%	100%	226
Transport	0%	100%	100%	20
Other	17%	83%	100%	101
<b>Total</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>94%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>652</b>

**Table 12: Security of tenure, by COSATU union**

The relationship between security of tenure and COSATU unions could not be established because some of the COSATU unions, for example the transport union, did not have enough respondents to help us draw any significant conclusions about the relationship.

## Q12 Highest education level

Education level	%
No formal education	1%
Std 2 or lower	2%
Std 3-5	6%
Std 6-8	28%
Std 9-10	38%
Technical diploma	13%
University degree	7%
Other post school qualification	6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 13: Highest education level attained (N=655)**

The largest proportion of respondents (38%) had attained either a standard 9 or matric pass, while a substantial proportion (28%) had at least a standard 6 pass. Thirteen per cent of respondents had a technical diploma, while 7% had a university degree. Those who reported having other post school qualifications mostly reported having diplomas of one sort or the other.

<b>Industrial sector</b>	<b>Primary</b>	<b>High</b>	<b>Post-school</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>
Manufacturing	8%	79%	13%	100%	152
Mining	16%	61%	22%	100%	49
Municipal and public sector	5%	54%	42%	100%	255
Transport	54%	46%	0%	100%	13
Other	10%	73%	17%	100%	167
<b>Total</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>65%</b>	<b>26%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>636</b>

**Table 14: Highest education level by industrial sector**

With the exception of workers in the transport sector, most respondents had achieved some level of high school qualification. No inferences, however, could be drawn about the relationship between the industrial sector of respondents and their level of education.

### Q13 Home language

<b>Home Language</b>	<b>%</b>
IsiXhosa	31%
IsiZulu	23%
Afrikaans	12%
English	8%
SeSotho	8%
SePedi	7%
SeTswana	6%
Tsonga	2%
IsiNdebele	1%
Venda	1%
IsiSwati	1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 15: Home language (N=655)**

All of the 11 official languages were represented by the respondents with IsiXhosa being the most spoken language and IsiNdebele, Venda and IsiSwati being the least spoken languages.

## Q14 Year first joined union

Year	%
2001- 2004	13%
1996 - 2000	22%
1991 - 1995	20%
1986 - 1990	24%
1981 - 1985	12%
1970 - 1980	8%
Did not know	1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 16: Year first joined union (N=643)**

The responses for the first year that the respondents joined unions ranged from 1970 to 2004 and some respondents did not know when they first joined a union. Over half of the respondents (55%) indicated that they had joined unions in the 90s, as apartheid began to fall.

## Q 16 Are you a shop steward?

	%
Shop stewards	26%
Not shop stewards	74%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 17: Respondents who are shop stewards (N=652)**

Only a quarter of the respondents were shop stewards.

Education	Shop stewards	Not shop stewards	%	N
Primary	18%	82%	100%	55
High	26%	74%	100%	425
Post matric	30%	70%	100%	169
<b>Total</b>	<b>26%</b>	<b>74%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>649</b>

**Table 18: Shop steward, by education status (p > 0.05)**

There is no significant relationship between the respondents' education status and whether or not the respondents were shop stewards. In other words, it would seem that respondents' education status did not seem to have an impact on whether or not the respondent became a shop steward.

Occupational category	Shop stewards	Not shop stewards	%	N
Unskilled	26%	74%	100%	80
Semi-skilled	23%	77%	100%	167
Skilled	26%	74%	100%	275
Supervisor	34%	66%	100%	61
Clerical	29%	71%	100%	55
<b>Total</b>	<b>26%</b>	<b>74%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>638</b>

**Table 19: Shop steward, by occupational category<sup>1</sup> (p > 0.05)**

Occupational category did not seem to have an influence on whether or not a respondent was elected as a shop steward.

<sup>1</sup> It is not possible to report on the respondents who indicated that they fell under other forms of occupational categories because they only made up 2% of the sample.



## SECTION B: CONCEPTION OF TRADE UNION DEMOCRACY

### Q17 Do you have shop stewards in your workplace?

	%
Shop stewards in the workplace	96%
No shop stewards in the workplace	3%
Do not know	2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 20: Shop stewards in their workplace (N=653)**

An overwhelming majority of respondents (96%) reported having shop stewards in their place of work. Only 3% of respondents reported having no shop stewards in their workplace, while 2 % of respondents did not know whether there were shop stewards in their place of work.

### Q18 Becoming Shop stewards

Method of appointment	%
Elected by workers	90%
Do not know	5%
Appointed by union officials	2%
Did not answer	2%
Appointed by management	1%
Other (please specify)	1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 21: Method of shop steward appointment in their workplace (N = 627)**

Of those respondents who reported having shop stewards in their workplace, a large majority (90%) said that the shop stewards had been appointed by election by the workers. Only 2% of respondents said that the shop stewards in their workplace had been appointed by union officials, and only 1% said that their shop stewards had been appointed by management. Five per cent of respondents did not know how their shop stewards had been appointed.

## Q19 Frequency of shop steward elections

Frequency of elections	%
More than once a year	3%
Once a year	25%
Once in two years	21%
Once in three years	29%
More than three years ago	9%
Cannot remember/ do not know	13%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 22: Frequency of shop steward elections (N= 579)**

While around a quarter of respondents who elected their shop stewards reporting having elections once a year, the greater portion of respondents – about 30% - said that they elected shop stewards once every three years. Twenty-two percent of respondents said that they elected their shop stewards every two years, while 10% said that they had elected their shop steward more than three years ago. Only 3% of respondents said that shop steward elections were held more than once a year.

Union sector	Once a year or more	Once in 2 years	Once in 3 years or less	%	N
Manufacturing	22%	24%	54%	100%	223
Mining	13%	75%	13%	100%	47
Municipal and public sector	43%	17%	40%	100%	171
Transport	53%	21%	26%	100%	19
Other	45%	10%	45%	100%	71
<b>Total</b>	<b>32%</b>	<b>24%</b>	<b>44%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>531</b>

**Table 23: Frequency of shop steward elections, by union sector (p<0.05)**

The sector of union in which respondents belonged had a significant impact on the frequency of shop steward elections. In particular, while respondents in manufacturing unions and mining unions were unlikely to elect shop stewards once a year or more, the reverse was the case for respondents in municipal and public sector unions, transport unions, and other unions. These respondents were more likely to elect shop stewards once a year or more.

Respondents in manufacturing and mining unions were more likely to hold shop steward elections once every three years or less, while it is highly probable that respondents in mining unions would hold shop steward elections once every 2 years.

## Q20 Last participation in the election of shop steward

	%
Never	9%
Within the last year	46%
1-2 years ago	16%
2-3 years ago	13%
More than 3 years ago	8%
Do not know	8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 24: Frequency of last participation in the election of shop steward (N=574)**

Almost half of the respondents (49%) had participated in the election of the shop steward at their workplace within the last year. Sixteen percent of the respondents last participated in the election of their shop steward one to two years ago, while 14% of the respondents did so two to three years ago. Nine percent of the respondents had last taken part in the election of their shop steward more than three years ago. The remaining respondents indicated that either they had never taken part in the election of their shop steward (6%) or they could not remember or did not know when was the last time they participated (6%).

## Q21 Election of shop stewards

Election of shop steward	%
Show of hands	50%
Secret ballot	50%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 25: Election of shop steward (N=574)**

Half of the respondents (50%) indicated that their shop stewards were elected by show of hands while the other half (50%) indicated that their shop stewards were elected by secret ballot.

**Q22 When you elect a shop steward, that person:**

	<b>%</b>
Can only do what the membership tells them to do	56%
They have discretion (choice) within a broad mandate	28%
Can represent your interests as s/he sees fit	16%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 26: Expectations of shop-steward decision-making (N=571)**

Most of the respondents (56%) indicated that when a shop steward is elected, shop stewards can do only what the membership tells them to do. Twenty eight percent of the respondents felt that the elected shop steward had to have discretion (choice) within a broad mandate. The remaining respondents (16%) indicated that the elected shop steward can represent their interests as they saw fit.

<b>Union sector</b>	<b>Full discretion</b>	<b>Constrained by members</b>	<b>Discretion within mandate</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>
Manufacturing	15%	58%	27%	100%	230
Mining	6%	66%	28%	100%	50
Municipal and public sector	18%	49%	33%	100%	191
Transport	5%	84%	11%	100%	19
Other	26%	49%	26%	100%	78
<b>Total</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>55%</b>	<b>29%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>568</b>

**Table 27: Expectations of shop-steward decision-making, by union sector (p < 0.05)**

There was a significant relationship between the union sector to which respondents belonged and their expectations of how shop stewards were to make decisions. Members of municipal and public sector unions and transport unions were more likely than not to say that shop stewards can only do what the membership tells them to do. Members of mining unions were unlikely to say that shop stewards can represent their interests as they see fit (full discretion) though the opposite was the case for members of other unions, who were more likely to grant shop stewards full discretion.

Shop steward	Full discretion	Constrained by members	Discretion within mandate	%	N
Shop steward	13%	50%	36%	100%	165
Not shop steward	17%	58%	25%	100%	405
<b>Total</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>28%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>570</b>

**Table 28: Expectations of shop-steward decision-making, by shop steward ( $p < 0.05$ )**

The expectations of shop steward decision-making seemed to be influenced by whether or not the respondent was a shop steward. The respondents who indicated that they were shop stewards were more likely to say that the elected shop steward had the discretion within a broad mandate.

### Q23 Expectation of shop steward consultation

	%
Must consult you every time s/he acts on behalf of workers	64%
Must consult you from time to time	35%
Does not have to consult	1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 29: Expectation of shop steward consultation (N=574)**

The majority of the respondents (64%) said that it is the duty of the shop steward to consult them every time s/he acts on behalf of the workers. Thirty-five percent of the respondents indicated that the shop steward had the duty of consulting them from time to time on important issues. Only 1% of the respondents felt that the shop steward did not have to consult them because they had elected him or her to represent their interests.

Union sector	Constant consultation	Some Consultation	No consultation	%	N
Manufacturing	66%	33%	1%	100%	232
Mining	74%	24%	2%	100%	50
Municipal and public sector	62%	37%	2%	100%	192
Transport	42%	58%	0%	100%	19
Other	58%	41%	1%	100%	78
<b>Total</b>	<b>64%</b>	<b>35%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>571</b>

**Table 30: Expectations on shop steward consultation, by union sector**

No relationship could be established between the union sector of respondents and their expectation on the frequency of consultation with elected shop stewards. This was due to the

fact that very few respondents in all types of unions felt that shop stewards do not have to consult workers.

	<b>Constant consultation</b>	<b>Some Consultation</b>	<b>No consultation</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>
Shop stewards	70%	29%	2%	100%	165
Not shop stewards	61%	38%	1%	100%	408
<b>Total</b>	<b>64%</b>	<b>35%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>573</b>

**Table 31: Expectations on shop steward consultation, by shop steward**

No significant conclusions can be made about the relationship between expectations on shop steward consultation and whether or not the respondent is a shop steward because the results showed that a few respondents felt that the shop steward did not have to consult the workers.

## **Q24 When the shop steward acts on your behalf:**

	<b>%</b>
They must report back to workers every time	83%
They must report back to workers only on important issues	17%
They do not have to report back	0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 32: Expectation of report-backs by shop-stewards (N=573)**

An overwhelming 83% of the respondents felt that the shop steward must report back to workers every time while 17% of the respondents indicated that the shop steward must report back to workers only on important issues. None of the respondents felt that the shop steward did not have to report back.

## Expectation of report-backs by shop-stewards by union sector

Union sector	Constant report-backs	Some report-backs	No need for report-backs	%	N
Manufacturing	85%	16%	0%	100%	232
Mining	80%	18%	2%	100%	50
Municipal and public sector	83%	17%	0%	100%	191
Transport	84%	16%	0%	100%	19
Other	82%	18%	0%	100%	78
<b>Total</b>	<b>83%</b>	<b>17%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>570</b>

**Table 33: Expectations on report-backs by shop stewards, by union sector**

No conclusions about the relationship between the union sectors to which respondents belonged and expectations about the frequency of shop-steward report backs could be drawn. As can be seen above, virtually no respondents in any of the unions felt that their elected shop stewards were under no obligation to report back to the union membership.

Shop steward	Constant report-backs	Some report-backs	No need for report-backs	%	N
Shop steward	87%	13%	0%	100%	164
Not shop steward	82%	18%	0%	100%	408
<b>Total</b>	<b>83%</b>	<b>17%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>572</b>

**Table 34: Expectations on report-backs, by shop steward**

No significant conclusions can be made about the relationship between the respondents who indicated that they were shop stewards and whether or not shop stewards should report back to workers due to the fact that none of respondents felt that the shop steward should not report back to them.

## Q25 If a shop steward does not do what the workers want, should workers have a right to remove him/her?

	%
Yes	94%
No	4%
Do not know	2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 35: The right to remove shop stewards (N=648)**

Almost all the respondents (94%) said that if the shop steward does not do what the workers want, the workers should have the right to remove the shop steward while only 4% of the respondents indicated that they did not have the right to remove that shop steward.

## Perceptions of workers' rights to remove shop stewards by union sector

Union sector	Right to remove	No right to remove	Don't know	%	N
Manufacturing	96%	3%	2%	100%	247
Mining	93%	6%	2%	100%	54
Municipal and public sector	94%	5%	1%	100%	225
Transport	95%	5%	0%	100%	20
Other	92%	3%	5%	100%	99
<b>Total</b>	<b>94%</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>645</b>

**Table 36: Right to remove shop stewards, by union sector**

We could not establish whether a relationship exists between respondents' union and whether they felt that workers should have the right to remove shop stewards if the latter do not do what workers want. This was because the overwhelming majority of respondents in all different unions felt that workers should indeed have the right to remove shop stewards if the situation warrants it.

Shop steward	Right to remove	No right to remove	Do not know	%	N
Shop stewards	97%	2%	1%	100%	171
Not shop stewards	93%	5%	2%	100%	476
<b>Total</b>	<b>94%</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>647</b>

**Table 37: Right to remove shop steward, by shop steward (p > 0.05)**

There is no significant relationship between whether or not the respondent is a shop steward and the shop steward being removed if he or she does not do what the workers want. This



means that being a shop steward does not influence the respondents' perception of the workers having the right to remove the shop steward if that shop steward does not do what the workers want.

## **Q26 In your workplace, has a shop steward ever been removed by the workers?**

	%
No	66%
Yes	27%
Do not know	7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 38: Removal of shop steward, by workers (N=644)**

Most of the respondents (66%) indicated that a shop steward had never been removed by the workers at their work place. Twenty-seven percent of the respondents reported that a shop steward had been removed by the workers at their workplace, while the remaining 7% did not know if this had ever occurred.

## **Q27 Reasons for removing shop steward**

	%
Not doing their job properly	75%
Too close to management	27%
Different politics	7%
Too close to union officials	2%
Other	5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 39: Reasons for removing shop steward**

Of all the respondents that indicated that a shop steward had once been removed by the workers at their workplace, the majority of them (75%) cited the reason for removal as being that the shop steward had not been doing their job properly. Twenty-seven percent of the respondents gave the reason that the shop steward had been too close to management, while 7% said the shop steward was removed because of different politics. Two percent of the respondents gave the reason that the shop steward was too close to union officials. The remaining 5% of respondents gave other reasons for the removal of shop stewards such as racist remarks, doing things single handed, and unofficial strikes.

## Q28 Have any shop stewards in your workplace been promoted into managerial positions?

	%
No	55%
Yes	37%
Do not know	8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 40: Shop stewards in workplace promoted into managerial positions (N=643)**

Just over half of the respondents (55%) indicated that no shop stewards had been promoted to managerial positions, while 37% indicated that this had been the case at their workplaces. The remaining 8% of the respondents could not answer this question.

Union sector	Promotion of s.s	No promotion of s.s	Don't know	%	N
Manufacturing	41%	56%	3%	100%	247
Mining	38%	57%	6%	100%	53
Municipal and public sector	34%	55%	11%	100%	225
Transport	37%	58%	5%	100%	19
Other	34%	50%	16%	100%	96
<b>Total</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>55%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>640</b>

**Table 41: Shop steward promotion by union sector (p<0.05)**

There appears to be a significant relationship between the union sector which respondents belonged to and whether shop stewards in the workplace had been promoted to managerial positions. In particular, members of manufacturing unions were the most likely to be aware of shop stewards being promoted to managerial positions in their workplace. This finding contrasts with members of other unions, who were the least likely to know whether this had been the case.

Industrial sector	Promotion of s.s	No promotion of s.s	%	N
Manufacturing	41%	59%	100%	151
Mining	42%	58%	100%	48
Municipal and public sector	36%	64%	100%	253
Transport	8%	92%	100%	12
Other	34%	67%	100%	161
<b>Total</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>63%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>625</b>

**Table 42: Shop steward promotion by industrial sector**

For the majority of respondents across all industrial sectors, shop stewards in their workplaces had not been promoted into managerial positions, or they did not know. This was especially so for respondents in the Transport sector, only 8% of whom said that shop stewards in their workplace had been promoted into managerial positions. There was, however, no significant relationship between the industrial sector of respondents and the promotion of shop stewards into managerial positions in their places of work.

## **Q29 Acceptability of shop steward to be promoted into management**

	%
Strongly Agree	28%
Agree	32%
Neutral	11%
Disagree	14%
Strongly Disagree	15%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 43: Acceptability for shop stewards to be elected into managerial positions (N=645)**

Of all the respondents, 60% either agreed or strongly agreed that it is acceptable for shop stewards to be elected into managerial positions. The proportion which disagreed or strongly disagreed was 29%, while 11% was neutral.

Union Sector	Manufacturing	Mining	Municipal and public sector	Transport	Other	Total
Strongly Agree	20%	43%	34%	40%	26%	28%
Agree	28%	35%	39%	30%	29%	32%
Neutral	9%	7%	13%	15%	11%	11%
Disagree	24%	7%	6%	10%	11%	14%
Strongly Disagree	19%	7%	9%	5%	24%	15%
%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	246	54	224	20	98	642

**Table 44: It is acceptable for shop stewards to be promoted into management, by union sector (p<0.01)**

There appears to be a significant relationship between the type of union sector in which respondents belonged and whether they thought it acceptable for shop stewards to be promoted into management. In particular, respondents in manufacturing unions were more likely to either disagree or strongly disagree with the statement that it is acceptable for shop stewards to be promoted into management. Conversely, members of municipal and public sector unions tended to either agree or strongly agree that it was acceptable for shop stewards to be promoted into management.

Industrial sector	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	%	N
Manufacturing	44%	9%	47%	100%	150
Mining	84%	8%	8%	100%	49
Municipal and public sector	72%	12%	16%	100%	252
Transport	54%	23%	23%	100%	13
Other	49%	12%	40%	100%	163
<b>Total</b>	<b>60%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>29%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>627</b>

**Table 45: Acceptability of shop steward promotion, by industrial sector (p<0.01)**

There appeared to be a significant relationship between the industrial sector of respondents and whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement that it is acceptable for shop stewards to be promoted into management. In particular, while respondents working in the manufacturing and “other” industrial sectors were more likely to disagree with the statement that it is acceptable for shop stewards to be promoted into managerial positions, respondents in the mining, and municipal and public sectors were more likely to find shop steward promotion acceptable.

Education	Primary	High	Post matric	Total
Strongly Agree	30%	25%	35%	28%
Agree	28%	30%	39%	32%
Neutral	11%	11%	10%	11%
Disagree	15%	17%	6%	14%
Strongly Disagree	17%	17%	10%	15%
%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	54	420	168	642

**Table 46: Acceptability of shop steward being promoted into management, by education<sup>2</sup> (p < 0.05)**

There is a significant relationship between education status and acceptability of shop stewards being promoted into management. Respondents who had some form of post matric qualification were more likely to strongly agree and to agree that it was acceptable for shop stewards to be promoted into management while respondents with high school education were less likely to strongly agree. Instead, respondents with high school education were more likely to disagree that it was acceptable for shop stewards to be promoted into management.

Occupational category	Unskilled	Semi-skilled	Skilled	Supervisor	Clerical	Total
Strongly Agree	19%	27%	32%	27%	27%	28%
Agree	33%	33%	30%	36%	35%	32%
Neutral	14%	8%	10%	9%	18%	11%
Disagree	18%	16%	13%	14%	7%	14%
Strongly Disagree	18%	17%	15%	15%	13%	16%
%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	80	166	271	59	55	631

**Table 47: Acceptability for shop stewards to be promoted into management, by occupational category (p > 0.05)**

There is no significant relationship between the respondents' perceptions on the acceptability for shop stewards to be promoted into management and the respondents' occupational categories. This means that there is no link between the respondent's occupational category and the perception of whether or not it is acceptable for shop stewards to be promoted into management.

<sup>2</sup> It is not possible to report on the respondents who did not have any formal education because they made up a small percentage of the sample.

Shop steward	Shop steward	Not shop steward	Total
Strongly Agree	36%	25%	28%
Agree	32%	32%	32%
Neutral	8%	12%	11%
Disagree	11%	15%	14%
Strongly Disagree	13%	16%	15%
%	100%	100%	100%
N	169	475	644

**Table 48: Acceptability for shop steward to be promoted into management, by shop steward ( $p > 0.05$ )**

There appears to be no significant relationship between the respondents who are shop stewards and whether or not it is acceptable for shop stewards to be promoted into management. This means that being a shop steward does not impact on the respondent's view that it is acceptable for shop stewards to be promoted into management.

### Q30 How often do you attend union meetings?

	%
Never	8%
Once a week	28%
Once a month	46%
Once a year	8%
Do not know	10%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 49: Attendance of meetings (N=629)**

Just under half the respondents indicated that they attended union meetings once a month, while 28% answered that they attended meetings once a week. Eight percent responded that they attended meetings once a year while a further 8% responded that they never attended meetings. The remaining 10% responded that they did not know or could not remember how often they attended meetings.

Union sector	Once a year or less	Once a week	Once a month	Do not know	%	N
Manufacturing	17%	30%	45%	8%	100%	242
Mining	9%	51%	33%	7%	100%	55
Municipal and public sector	16%	17%	58%	9%	100%	213
Transport	0%	40%	45%	15%	100%	20
Other	24%	28%	33%	15%	100%	95
<b>Total</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>28%</b>	<b>46%</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>625</b>

**Table 50: Attendance at union meetings by union sector (p<0.01)**

The type of union sector which respondents belonged to seemed to have an impact on how often they attended union meetings. In particular, respondents in municipal and public sector unions were more likely to attend union meeting once a month than any other frequency. Members of mining unions, on the other hand, were more likely to attend union meetings once a week. Members of other unions (including) were more likely to attend union meetings once a year or less than any other frequency of union meetings.

### **Q31 Have workers in this workplace been involved in industrial action since 1999?**

	%
Official strike (supported by union)	44%
Other workplace protest	5%
Go-slows	5%
Unofficial strike (not supported by union)	4%
Community action/protest	2%
None of the above	40%
All of the above	1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 51: Workers in workplace involved in industrial action since 1999 (N=647)**

Under half of respondents (44%) indicated that workers in their workplace had been involved in official strikes. A minority of respondents indicated that workers had been involved in other workplace protests, go-slows, unofficial strikes and community protests. The percentages for these were five, five, four and two respectively. Forty percent of respondents indicated that workers in their workplace had been involved in none of the above while 1% indicated that workers had been involved in all of the above.

Sectors	Strike	Go-slows	Protest	%	N
Manufacturing	79%	12%	10%	100%	93
Mining	76%	8%	16%	100%	37
Municipal and public sector	77%	8%	14%	100%	155
Transport	100%	0%	0%	100%	3
Other	89%	5%	6%	100%	85
<b>Total</b>	<b>80%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>373</b>

**Table 52: Involvement in industrial action since 1999, by sector**

No significant conclusions can be drawn about the relationship between involvement in industrial action and sector. Most of the workers though seemed to have been involved in some sort of strike whether official or unofficial.

### **Q32 Support in industrial action from other sectors in society**

Civil society groupings	%
Other unions	31%
Community organizations	20%
Political parties	18%
Other bodies	5%

**Table 53: Support in that industrial action**

Generally, not many respondents said that their union had received support in industrial action from civil society groupings. In those instances where other groupings had lent support to respondents' unions in past industrial actions, other unions were most reported (31%) as the groups that had lent support during that industrial action.

When asked to specify which community organisations gave support, respondents named "SANCO", "CPF" and "civic organisations" most often. The unions that were named included "all" or "most unions", "COSATU", "SATAWU", "FAWU", "SACCAWU", "POPCRU", "SAMWU", "NEHAWU" and "NUMSA". The political organisations that were specified were either ANC or SACP. The other bodies that were named included "APF", "World Trade Union", student organisations, "friends", "family" and other workers.



### Q 33 Unions should have active links with community organisations/ civil society groupings/ social movements

	%
Strongly Agree	60%
Agree	28%
Neutral	6%
Disagree	4%
Strongly Disagree	3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 54: Links with community organisations/ civil society grouping/ social movements (N=652)**

Of the total respondents to this question, 60% strongly agreed with the statement that unions should have active links with community/ civil society groupings/ social movements. A further 28% of respondents agrees with this statement while only 7% disagreed or strongly disagreed.

### Q34 Which community organisations/civil society groupings/ social movements should unions have active links with?

Type of organisation	N	%
NGOs and Political Parties	82	22%
NGOs	70	19%
CBOs	69	18%
All types of organisations	20	5%
NGOs and CBOs	14	4%
Social Movements	12	3%
Political Parties	12	3%
NGOs and Social Movements	11	3%
FBOs	4	1%
CBOs and Political Parties	3	1%
CBOs and Social Movements	2	1%
Did not specify	78	21%
<b>Total</b>	<b>377</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 55: Which community organisations/civil society groupings/social movements should unions maintain active links with?**

Of those respondents who felt that unions should maintain active links with community organisations, civil society groupings, and social movements, over a fifth (22%) felt that these should be with both NGOs and political parties. Only 3% of respondents, however, mentioned

only political parties as possible organisations with which unions should maintain links. By contrast, 19% of respondents mentioned NGOs alone as organisations with which unions should maintain links. Eighteen per cent of respondents mentioned CBOs as organisations or groupings that unions should maintain links with.

### Mentions of specific organisations

Organisations/movements	N	%
SANCO	114	20%
ANC	30	5%
TAC	29	5%
HIV/AIDS groupings	19	3%
APF	17	3%
SACP	12	2%
Church groupings	8	1%
Youth groupings	6	1%
Student groupings	6	1%
DA	6	1%
Women's groupings	5	1%
SGB	4	1%
Operation Khanyisa	4	1%
Landless People's Movement	4	1%
COSAS	4	1%
Electricity groupings	3	1%
PAC	2	0%
UDM	1	0%
SANSO	1	0%
SACTU	1	0%
NNP	1	0%
NAPWA	1	0%
IMATU	1	0%
AZAPO	1	0%

**Table 56: Frequency of mentions of specific organisations**

Above is presented the results of searches for specific organisations mentioned by respondents. SANCO was mentioned by at least 114 respondents. “ANC” was the next most mentioned organisation out of those that were searched for, with at least 30 respondents mentioning it as an organisation which unions should have active links with. HIV/AIDS related organisations and movements featured fairly prominently in the responses of interviewees, with the TAC being mentioned at least 29 times by respondents and other

HIV/AIDS groupings (no specific names were mentioned) appearing at least 19 times in the collected responses of interviewees.

For purposes of further analysis, the responses of interviewees were recoded into four broad categories of organisations or movements that unions should maintain links with. They were “Community Based Organisations”, “Social Movements”, “Political Parties”, and “Civil Society”.

<b>Civil society grouping</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
Community Based Organisations	102	27%
Social Movements	55	14%
Political Parties	64	17%
Civil Society	175	46%

**Table 57: Community organisations/ civil society groupings/ social movements that unions should have active links with**

Of the different structures, civil society groupings were named most often with 46% of respondents indicating that unions should have active links with them. Twenty seven percent of respondents indicated that unions should have active links with community based organisations while political parties and social movements were referred by 17% and 14% of respondents respectively. Organisations or groupings that were named most often were the ANC, SANCO, APF, CPF, TAC, LPM and unions in general.

<b>Union sector</b>	<b>Manufacturing</b>	<b>Mining</b>	<b>Municipal and public sector</b>	<b>Transport</b>	<b>Other</b>	<b>Total</b>
Strongly Agree	54%	67%	65%	80%	58%	60%
Agree	33%	20%	25%	10%	28%	28%
Neutral	6%	4%	5%	5%	6%	5%
Disagree	5%	6%	3%	0%	4%	4%
Strongly Disagree	2%	4%	2%	5%	4%	3%
%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
<b>N</b>	<b>248</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>226</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>649</b>

**Table 58: Unions having active links with community organisations/civil society groupings/social movements, by union sector**

No determination could be made about possible relationships between the union sectors that respondents belonged to and whether they thought that unions should have active links with community organisations, civil society groupings or social movements. It is clear, however,

that most respondents across all groupings of trade unions tended to agree or strongly agree that unions should maintain such relationships with Civil Society.

<b>Education</b>	<b>Primary</b>	<b>High</b>	<b>Post matric</b>	<b>Total</b>
Strongly Agree	56%	57%	69%	60%
Agree	22%	31%	21%	27%
Neutral	15%	5%	4%	5%
Disagree	7%	4%	4%	4%
Strongly Disagree	0%	3%	2%	3%
%	100%	100%	100%	100%
<b>N</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>425</b>	<b>169</b>	<b>649</b>

**Table 59: Unions having active links with community organisations/civil society groupings/social movements, by education**

No relationship can be established between education and whether or not the unions should have active links with community organisations, civil society groupings or social movements. It should be noted though that respondents across all education levels seem to strongly agree that unions should have links with other organisations.

Shop steward	Shop steward	Not shop steward	Total
Strongly Agree	73%	56%	60%
Agree	22%	30%	28%
Neutral	1%	7%	6%
Disagree	2%	5%	4%
Strongly Disagree	2%	2%	2%
%	100%	100%	100%
N	171	480	651

**Table 60: Unions should have active links with community organizations/civil society groupings/social movements, by shop steward ( $p < 0.05$ )**

There is a significant relationship between whether or not the respondent is a shop steward and what they think about unions having active links with community organizations/civil society/social movements. Respondents who indicated that they are shop stewards were more likely to strongly agree that union should have active links with other organizations while respondents who were not shop stewards were less likely to strongly agree. Instead, respondents who are not shop stewards were more likely to be neutral while respondents who are shop stewards were less likely to stay neutral.

### **Q35 Do you have any of the following bodies for participation or communication with management in workplaces?**

Communication bodies	%
Health and safety committee	70%
Workplace forum	39%
Green areas/ quality circles	27%
Formal work teams (endorsed by management)	26%
None of those mentioned	11%
Other (specify)	10%

**Table 61: Bodies for participation or communication with management workplace**

The most common body for participation or communication with management mentioned by respondents were health and safety committees, which 70% of respondents reported having in their workplace. Workplace forums were the next most common, with 39% of respondents saying that they had these in their workplace. Eleven per cent of respondents reported having none of the workplace communication structures mentioned in the question.

### Q36 Do communication and participation bodies give workers any influence over management's decision-making power?

	%
Very much	32%
Somewhat	22%
Not at all	20%
A little	16%
Neutral / do not know	10%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 62: Bodies giving workers any influence on management's decision-making power (N=627)**

Just under a third of respondents (32%) thought that the bodies that they had named gave workers "very much" influence on management's decision-making power. Twenty percent felt that the bodies gave workers somewhat influence while 16% felt the bodies gave them little influence. The proportion of respondents which felt that these bodies gave no influence at all was 20%. A further 10% of respondents were neutral or did not know.

## SECTION C: UNION INVOLVEMENT IN POLICY MAKING

### Q37 Workers cannot rely on political parties to protect their interests:

	%
Strongly agree	25%
Agree	24%
Neutral / do not know	8%
Disagree	26%
Strongly disagree	17%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 63: Workers cannot rely on political parties to protect their interests (N= 653)**

Respondents were more or less divided on whether or not they felt that workers could rely on political parties to protect their interests. Forty-nine per cent of respondents felt that workers could not rely on political parties to protect their interests, while 43% either disagreed or strongly disagreed with this sentiment. However, whereas a quarter of respondents strongly agreed with the statement that workers cannot rely on political parties to protect their interests, only 17% strongly disagreed with this statement.

Shop steward	Shop steward	Not shop steward	Total
Strongly agree	25%	25%	25%
Agree	23%	24%	24%
Neutral / do not know	5%	9%	8%
Disagree	31%	25%	27%
Strongly disagree	16%	17%	17%
%	100%	100%	100%
<b>N</b>	<b>170</b>	<b>480</b>	<b>650</b>

**Table 64: Workers cannot rely on political parties to protect their interests, by shop steward (p > 0.05)**

Being a shop steward does not seem to impact on the respondent's view of whether or not workers cannot rely on political parties to protect their interests. Most of the respondents share the view that workers cannot rely on political parties to protect their interests.

**Q38 Workers will always need trade unions to protect their interests:**

	%
Strongly agree	72%
Agree	23%
Neutral / do not know	3%
Disagree	2%
Strongly disagree	1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 65: Workers will always need trade unions (N=654)**

A majority of respondents (73%) strongly agreed with the statement that workers will always need trade unions to protect their interests. A further 23% agreed with the statement. Only 3% in total strongly disagreed or disagreed with the statement while 3% were either neutral or did not know.

**Q39 Elected political institutions are the best place to pursue worker interests:**

	%
Strongly agree	29%
Agree	36%
Do not know	9%
Disagree	17%
Strongly disagree	9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 66: Worker interest are best pursued in political institutions (N=653)**

The majority of the respondents agreed that worker interests are best pursued in political institutions. Twenty-nine percent of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement, while thirty-six percent of the respondents agreed that worker interests are best pursued in political institutions. While 17% disagreed with the statement, 9% strongly agreed with the statement, and 9% did not know.



## Q40 Which political institutions which best serve worker interests?

	%
All of equal importance	31%
National parliament	19%
None	18%
Local government	13%
National and local	8%
National and provincial	6%
Provincial parliament	5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 67: Political institutions that best serve worker interests (N= 652)**

Thirty one percent of respondents rated the institutions listed as equally important in serving worker interests. National parliament and local government were said to be the institutions that best serve worker interests by 19% and 13% of respondents respectively. National and local government, national and provincial government and provincial parliament were referred to by 8%, 6% and 5% of the respondents respectively. Eighteen percent of respondents indicated that they felt none of the political institutions listed best served worker interests.

## Q41 Worker involvement in local government or participatory initiatives

	%
Elected councillor	2
Union delegate	8
Community member	32
No	58
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 68: (N=652) Worker involvement in local government or participatory initiatives**

The majority of the workers were not involved in any of the local government or participatory initiatives. 42% of the respondents were involved, and of these 32% were community members, 8% were union delegates and 2% were elected councillors.

Sector	Elected councillor	Union delegate	Community member	None	%	N
Manufacturing	3%	3%	26%	68%	100%	152
Mining	0%	31%	35%	35%	100%	49
Municipal and public sector	0%	6%	36%	57%	100%	254
Transport	31%	0%	23%	46%	100%	13
Other	3%	7%	27%	62%	100%	165
<b>Total</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>31%</b>	<b>59%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>633</b>

**Table 69: Involvement in local government or community based development or participatory initiatives, by sector**

No relationship can be established between the different sectors that the respondents come from and whether or not they are involved in local government or community based development or participatory initiatives, but most respondents indicated that they were not involved in any other initiatives.

Shop steward	Elected councillor	Union delegate	Community member	None	%	N
Shop steward	1%	21%	36%	42%	100%	171
Not shop steward	3%	3%	30%	64%	100%	480
<b>Total</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>32%</b>	<b>58%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>651</b>

**Table 70: Involvement in local government or community based development or participatory initiatives, by shop stewards ( $p < 0.05$ )**

Whether or not the respondent is a shop steward influences the respondent's involvement in local government or community based development or participatory initiatives. Respondents who are shop stewards were more likely to be involved in other initiatives as union delegates while respondents who are not shop stewards were less likely to be involved in other initiatives. Instead, respondents who are not shop stewards were more likely to indicate that they were not involved in other initiatives while respondents who are shop stewards were less likely not to be involved in other initiatives.

REGION	Gauteng	North West Province	KZN	Eastern Cape	Western Cape	Total
Elected councillor	1%	0%	2%	5%	1%	2%
Union delegate	8%	30%	6%	3%	5%	8%
Community member	32%	40%	27%	42%	24%	32%
None	59%	30%	65%	50%	70%	58%
%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	239	43	100	129	141	652

**Table 71: Involvement in local government or community based development or participatory initiatives, by COSATU region**

It is not possible to make any significant conclusions about the relationship between COSATU region and involvement in local government or community based development or participatory initiatives because not enough respondents indicated that they were elected leaders or union delegates. Most respondents from the different regions were however not involved in any other initiatives.

Education	Elected councillor	Union delegate	Community member	None	%	N
Primary	7%	9%	33%	51%	100%	55
High	2%	7%	30%	61%	100%	426
Post matric	1%	8%	36%	55%	100%	168
<b>Total</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>32%</b>	<b>58%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>649</b>

**Table 72: Involvement in local government or community based development or participatory initiative, by education**

There is no relationship can be determined between education status and whether or not the respondents are involved other organisations. The majority of respondents across the education levels were not involved in any other kinds of initiatives.

**Q42 Local government service delivery is satisfactory and effective:**

	%
Strongly Agree	14%
Agree	26%
Neutral	16%
Disagree	26%
Strongly Disagree	18%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 73: Local government service delivery is satisfactory and effective (N=654)**

The majority of the respondents, which is 26%, disagree with the statement that the local government service is satisfactory and effective. Eighteen percent of the respondents agree with the statement, while 14% strongly agree with the statement, and 26% agree with the same statement. Sixteen percent of the respondents neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement.

REGION	Gauteng	North West Province	KZN	Eastern Cape	Western Cape	Total
Strongly Agree	14%	35%	7%	17%	11%	14%
Agree	23%	28%	25%	30%	28%	26%
Neutral	15%	9%	20%	18%	17%	16%
Disagree	25%	16%	34%	26%	23%	26%
Strongly Disagree	23%	12%	15%	9%	22%	18%
%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	<b>239</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>129</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>654</b>

**Table 74: Satisfactory and effective local government service delivery, by COSATU region (p < 0.05)**

The COSATU regions that the respondents come from influence their perceptions of satisfactory and effective local government service delivery. Respondents from the North West Province were more likely to strongly agree that the local government service delivery was satisfactory and effective while respondents from KZN were less likely to strongly agree. Instead, respondents from KZN were more likely to disagree that local government service delivery in their areas was more satisfactory and effective. Respondents from Gauteng were more likely to strongly disagree that local government service delivery in their areas was satisfactory and effective while respondents from the Eastern Cape were less likely to strongly disagree.

### Q43 Do you know what NEDLAC is

	%
Yes	32%
No	68%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 75: Awareness of NEDLAC (N=653)**

Sixty-eight percent of the respondents did not know about NEDLAC, and 32% of them knew about NEDLAC,

Union sector	Knows NEDLAC	Does not know NEDLAC	%	N
Manufacturing	33%	67%	100%	249
Mining	44%	56%	100%	55
Municipal and public sector	32%	68%	100%	225
Transport	10%	90%	100%	20
Other	28%	72%	100%	101
<b>Total</b>	<b>32%</b>	<b>68%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>650</b>

**Table 76: Awareness of NEDLAC by union sector**

The type of union which respondents belonged to appeared to have no impact on whether they had knowledge of NEDLAC. Most respondents across all unions did not know what NEDLAC was.

Occupational category	Knows NEDLAC	Does not know NEDLAC	%	N
Unskilled	24%	77%	100%	81
Semi-skilled	35%	65%	100%	168
Skilled	33%	67%	100%	275
Supervisor	36%	64%	100%	61
Clerical	26%	74%	100%	54
<b>Total</b>	<b>32%</b>	<b>68%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>639</b>

**Table 77: Awareness of NEDLAC, by occupational category (p > 0.05)**

There is no link between the respondents' occupational categories and their awareness of NEDLAC. Most respondents in all the occupational categories were not aware of what NEDLAC was.

Education	Knows NEDLAC	Does not know NEDLAC	%	N
Primary	15%	86%	100%	55
High	33%	67%	100%	426
Post matric	36%	65%	100%	169
<b>Total</b>	<b>32%</b>	<b>68%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>650</b>

**Table 78: Awareness of NEDLAC, by education<sup>3</sup> (p < 0.05)**

There is a significant relationship between the respondents' education status and their awareness of NEDLAC. Respondents who had primary school education were less likely to indicate that they knew what NEDLAC is compared to respondents with higher education levels.

Shop steward	Knows NEDLAC	Does not know NEDLAC	%	N
Shop steward	61%	39%	100%	171
Not shop steward	22%	78%	100%	480
<b>Total</b>	<b>32%</b>	<b>68%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>651</b>

**Table 79: Awareness of NEDLAC, by shop steward (p < 0.05)**

Respondents' awareness of NEDLAC seems to be linked to whether or not the respondents are shop stewards. Respondents who indicated that they were shop stewards were more likely to indicate they were aware of what NEDLAC is compared to respondents who were not shop stewards.

<sup>3</sup> It is not possible to report on the respondents who did not have any formal education because there were only 3 respondents out of a total of 650 respondents.

## Q44 Respondents descriptions of NEDLAC

NEDLAC	%
Government, business and labour are members	28%
Could not remember or had only heard of it	21%
Deals with economic, business and labour issues	19%
Represents workers interests	12%
Business and labour are members	6%
Government and labour are members	5%
Settles labour disputes and gives permission to strike	3%
Organisation for Business	3%
Unions represent workers in it	2%
Government organisation	2%
Business and government are members	1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 80: Description of NEDLAC (N=199)**

Of those respondents who knew what NEDLAC was, the majority (30%) understood it broadly as a forum where government, business and labour can interact. A fairly large portion (23%) of those who said they knew what NEDLAC was said that they could not remember its form or function, or said that they had only heard it mentioned, but did not know what it was. A fifth of respondents said that NEDLAC dealt with economic, business and labour issues, while 13% thought that NEDLAC, in some form, represented worker interests.

## Q45 Have you ever been at a union meeting when there has been a report-back on NEDLAC?

	%
Yes	22
No	78
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 81: Were there any report backs on NEDLAC at union meetings? (N=611)**

Over three quarters of respondents (78%) said that they had never been at a union meeting where there was a report back on NEDLAC.

Union sector	Report back	No report back	%	N
Manufacturing	26%	74%	100%	226
Mining	30%	70%	100%	54
Municipal and public sector	20%	80%	100%	213
Transport	5%	95%	100%	19
Other	16%	84%	100%	96
<b>Total</b>	<b>22%</b>	<b>78%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>608</b>

**Table 82: Report back on NEDLAC by union sector ( $p < 0.05$ )**

There appears to be a significant relationship between the union sector in which respondents belonged and whether they had ever been at a union meeting where there had been a report-back on NEDLAC.

Education	Report back	No report back	%	N
Primary	25%	76%	100%	49
High	22%	78%	100%	396
Post matric	20%	80%	100%	163
<b>Total</b>	<b>22%</b>	<b>78%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>608</b>

**Table 83: Presence of workers at a union meeting where there was a report back on NEDLAC, by education ( $p > 0.05$ )**

There is no significant relationship between the respondents' education status and the respondents' presence at a union meeting where there was a report back on NEDLAC.

Shop steward	Report back	No report back	%	N
Shop steward	43%	57%	100%	166
Not shop steward	14%	86%	100%	444
<b>Total</b>	<b>22%</b>	<b>78%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>610</b>

**Table 84: Attended union meeting where there was a report back on NEDLAC, by shop steward ( $p < 0.05$ )**

Attending a union meeting where there was a report back on NEDLAC seemed to be influenced by whether or not the respondents were shop stewards. Respondents who indicated that they were shop stewards were more likely than respondents who were not shop stewards to have attended a union meeting where there was a report back on NEDLAC.



**Q 46 Is NEDLAC an effective channel of influence for COSATU?**

	<b>%</b>
Yes	79%
No	6%
Do not know	15%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 85: NEDLAC as an effective channel of influence for COSATU (N=209)**

The majority of respondents (79%) believed that NEDLAC is an effective channel of influence for COSATU. A small proportion of respondents (6%) disagreed with the statement, while 15% did not know.

**Q47 Do you know what the RDP is?**

	<b>%</b>
Yes	89%
No	11%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 86: Awareness of RDP (N=653)**

The overwhelming majority of respondents (89%) knew about the RDP.

<b>Shop steward</b>	<b>Knowledge of RDP</b>	<b>No knowledge of RDP</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>
Shop steward	97%	4%	100%	171
Not shop steward	87%	13%	100%	479
<b>Total</b>	<b>89%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>650</b>

**Table 87: Awareness of the RDP, by shop steward ( $p < 0.05$ )**

Respondents who indicated that they were shop stewards were more likely than those who were not shop stewards to be aware of the RDP.

Occupational category	Knowledge of RDP	No knowledge of RDP	%	N
Unskilled	86%	14%	100%	81
Semi-skilled	90%	10%	100%	168
Skilled	91%	10%	100%	275
Supervisor	90%	10%	100%	60
Clerical	84%	16%	100%	55
<b>Total</b>	<b>89%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>639</b>

**Table 88: Awareness of RDP, by occupational category ( $p > 0.05$ )**

There is no significant relationship between the respondents' awareness of the RDP and their occupational categories. This means that awareness of the RDP is not linked to the respondent's occupational category.

Education	Knowledge of RDP	No knowledge of RDP	%	N
Primary	84%	16%	100%	55
High	87%	13%	100%	427
Post matric	98%	2%	100%	168
<b>Total</b>	<b>89%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>650</b>

**Table 89: Awareness of the RDP, by education<sup>4</sup> ( $p < 0.01$ )**

Education status seems to influence the respondents' knowledge of the RDP. Respondents who had some form of post school education were more likely than respondents with lower levels of education to report that they knew about the RDP.

<sup>4</sup> Respondents who did not have any formal education were not included in the analysis because there were only 3 respondents out of a total of 650 respondents who answered this question.

## Q48 Workers descriptions of RDP

<b>RDP</b>	<b>%</b>
Helps previously disadvantaged or poor people	25%
Provision of housing	24%
Development and reconstruction	19%
Provision of services, infrastructure and job creation	19%
Could not remember or did not know	5%
Job creation, skills development or small businesses	4%
Government policy	2%
Ineffective, no longer implemented	1%
Political party	1%
Economic policy	1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 90: Description of RDP (N=583)**

Considering only respondents who indicated that they knew about the RDP, the majority (26%) described it in terms of a programme designed to help the previously disadvantaged and the poor. A quarter of respondents described it in terms of the provision of housing, one fifth linked the RDP to development and reconstruction, while another fifth linked the RDP to the provision of services, infrastructure and job creation.

## Q49 Do you think the government is achieving the goals of the RDP?

	<b>%</b>
Yes	72%
No	22%
Do not know	6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 91: Government achieving goals of RDP (N=578)**

Seventy-two percent of the respondents felt that the government was achieving the goals of the RDP, while 22% of the respondents did not agree with the statement. Six percent did not know.

## Q50 Do you know what GEAR is?

	%
Yes	36%
No	64%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 92: Awareness of GEAR (N=651)**

The majority of the respondents did not know about GEAR. It was only 36% of the respondents that reported that they knew about GEAR.

Union sector	Knowledge of GEAR	No knowledge of GEAR	%	N
Manufacturing	33%	68%	100%	249
Mining	46%	54%	100%	54
Municipal and public sector	40%	60%	100%	226
Transport	20%	80%	100%	20
Other	31%	69%	100%	99
<b>Total</b>	<b>36%</b>	<b>64%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>648</b>

**Table 93: Awareness of GEAR, by union sector (p > 0.05)**

The union sector to which respondents belong appears to have no impact on whether or not they knew of GEAR. However, it can be seen from the table above that while most respondents across all union sectors had no positive knowledge of GEAR, a greater proportion of respondents in the mining unions and the municipal and public sector unions appeared to know about GEAR.

Occupational category	Knowledge of GEAR	No knowledge of GEAR	Do not know	%	N
Unskilled	32%	56%	12%	100%	81
Semi-skilled	39%	50%	11%	100%	168
Skilled	35%	49%	17%	100%	274
Supervisor	37%	42%	20%	100%	59
Clerical	33%	49%	18%	100%	55
<b>Total</b>	<b>36%</b>	<b>49%</b>	<b>15%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>637</b>

**Table 94: Awareness of GEAR, by occupational category (p > 0.05)**

There is no significant relationship between the respondents' awareness of GEAR and their occupational categories. This means that occupational category does not seem to influence respondents' awareness about GEAR.

Education	Knowledge of GEAR	No knowledge of GEAR	Do not know	%	N
Primary	22%	71%	7%	100%	55
High	34%	51%	15%	100%	424
Post matric	44%	39%	17%	100%	169
<b>Total</b>	<b>36%</b>	<b>49%</b>	<b>15%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>648</b>

**Table 95: Awareness of GEAR, by education<sup>5</sup> (p < 0.01)**

The respondents' awareness of GEAR seems to be influenced by the respondents' level of education. Respondents who had some form of post school education were more likely to report that they knew what GEAR was while respondents who only had primary school education were more likely to report that they did not know what GEAR was.

Shop steward	Knowledge of GEAR	No knowledge of GEAR	Do not know	%	N
Shop steward	52%	40%	8%	100%	171
Not shop steward	30%	53%	18%	100%	478
<b>Total</b>	<b>36%</b>	<b>49%</b>	<b>15%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>649</b>

**Table 96: Awareness of GEAR, by shop steward (p < 0.01)**

A link appears to exist between the respondents' awareness of GEAR and whether or not the respondents are shop stewards. Respondents who said they are shop stewards were more likely to be aware of what GEAR is while respondents who indicated that they are not shop stewards were more likely not to be aware of what GEAR is.

<sup>5</sup> Respondents who did not have any formal education were not included in the analysis because there were only 3 respondents out of a total of 648 respondents.

## Q51 Respondents' descriptions of GEAR

<b>Descriptions of GEAR</b>	<b>%</b>
Government's economic policy	14%
Could not explain	12%
Ineffective or bad for the poor	10%
Privatisation	10%
Job creation	9%
Growth, improvement of economy	8%
Privatisation and job loss	8%
Job loss	8%
Growth, employment and redistribution	7%
Black empowerment and redistribution	6%
Increases standard of living and services	5%
Imposed by local or international elites	3%
An organisation	2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 97: Description of GEAR (N=214)**

Amongst respondents who knew about GEAR, 14% described it as the government's economic policy. A little over a quarter of the respondents had negative perceptions of GEAR. Besides the 10% of respondents who described GEAR as being, in one way or the other, ineffective or bad for the poor, a further 16% of respondents associated it with the loss of jobs, and privatisation and job loss.

Close to a third of respondents associated GEAR with positive economic developments, with 9% describing in terms of job creation, 8% describing it in terms of economic growth, 7% describing in terms of growth, employment and redistribution, 6% describing it in terms of black economic empowerment and redistribution, and 5% describing it in terms of increased standards of living and service delivery.

## Q52 GEAR is achieving its goals of Growth, Employment and Redistribution:

	%
Strongly agree	8%
Agree	22%
Neutral/ do not agree	18%
Disagree	26%
Strongly disagree	26%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 98: GEAR is achieving its goals of Growth, Employment and Redistribution (N=228)**

The majority of respondents did not believe that GEAR is achieving its goals of Growth, Employment and Redistribution. In particular, 52% of respondents either strongly disagreed (26%) or disagreed (26%) with this statement.

Shop steward	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	%	N
Shop steward	23%	11%	66%	100%	88
Not shop steward	35%	21%	44%	100%	140
<b>Total</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>18%</b>	<b>52%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>228</b>

**Table 99: GEAR achieving goals of Growth, Employment and Redistribution, by shop stewards (p < 0.01)**

There is a significant relationship between the respondents' view of GEAR achieving goals of Growth, Employment and Redistribution and whether or not the respondents are shop stewards. Of the respondents who are aware of GEAR, those who indicated that they are shop stewards were more likely to disagree that GEAR was achieving its goals while the respondents that are not shop stewards were more likely to agree.

## SECTION D: WORKERS CONCEPTION OF POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

### Q53 Should COSATU and its affiliates send representatives to national parliament?

	%
Yes	88%
No	9%
Do not know	4%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 100: (N=651) Representation of COSATU and affiliates in national parliament**

Eighty-eight percent of the respondents agreed that COSATU and its affiliates should be represented in the national parliament, while 9% disagreed with the statement. Four percent did not know.

Union sector	Send reps.	Don't send reps.	%	N
Manufacturing	86%	14%	100%	249
Mining	93%	7%	100%	55
Municipal and public sector	88%	12%	100%	226
Transport	85%	15%	100%	20
Other	88%	12%	100%	98
<b>Total</b>	<b>88%</b>	<b>12%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>648</b>

**Table 101: COSATU representatives in national parliament by union sector**

The union sector which respondents belonged to appeared to make no impact on whether they felt that COSATU and its affiliates should send representatives to national parliament. A large proportion of workers across all union sectors felt that COSATU and its affiliates should send representatives to national parliament.



Shop steward	Send reps.	Don't send reps.	Do not know	%	N
Shop stewards	83%	17%	1%	100%	170
Not shop stewards	89%	6%	5%	100%	480
<b>Total</b>	<b>88%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>650</b>

**Table 102: COSATU and affiliates sending representatives to national parliament, by shop steward ( $p < 0.01$ )**

There seems to be a link between the perception of COSATU and its affiliates sending representatives to national parliament and whether or not the respondents are shop stewards. Respondents who indicated that they were not shop stewards were more likely to respond that representatives had to be sent to national parliament while respondents who are shop stewards were more likely to say that representatives should not be sent to national parliament. At the same time, respondents who are not shop stewards were more likely not to know if representatives should be sent to national parliament.

#### **Q54 Should COSATU and its affiliates send representatives to provincial government?**

	%
Yes	86%
No	10%
Do not know	4%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 103: (N=651) Representation of COSATU and its affiliates in provincial parliament**

The majority of the respondents, which was 86%, were supportive of the statement that COSATU and its affiliates should be represented in the provincial government. Ten percent of the respondents were not supportive of the statement, and 4% did not know.

Shop steward	Send reps.	Don't send reps.	Do not know	%	N
Shop stewards	82%	17%	1%	100%	170
Not shop stewards	88%	8%	5%	100%	480
<b>Total</b>	<b>86%</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>650</b>

**Table 104: COSATU and affiliates sending representatives to provincial parliament, by shop steward ( $p < 0.01$ )**

The respondents' view of sending representatives to local government seems to depend on whether or not the respondents are shop stewards. Respondents who are shop stewards were more likely to say that representatives should not be sent to local government while

respondents who are not shop stewards were more likely to say that they did not know if representatives should be sent to local government.

### **Q55 Should COSATU and its affiliates send representatives to local government?**

	<b>%</b>
Yes	86%
No	10%
Do not know	4%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 105: Representation of COSATU and its affiliates in local government (N=649)**

Eighty-six percent of the respondents also supported the statement that COSATU and its affiliates should be represented in the local government. In this instance also, 10%, did not support the statement, and 4% did not know.

<b>Shop steward</b>	<b>Send reps.</b>	<b>Don't send reps.</b>	<b>Do not know</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>
Shop stewards	82%	17%	1%	100%	169
Not shop stewards	88%	8%	5%	100%	479
<b>Total</b>	<b>86%</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>648</b>

**Table 106: COSATU and its affiliates sending representatives to local government, by shop steward ( $p < 0.01$ )**

There is a significant relationship between whether or not the respondents are shop stewards and their views on sending representatives to local government. Respondents who responded that they are shop stewards were more likely to disagree with the view that of COSATU and its affiliate should be sent to local government while respondents who are not shop stewards are more likely to say they do not know if representatives should be sent to local government.

### Q56 If COSATU representatives in elected political institutions do not do what workers want should they be removed from parliament?

	%
Yes, in the next election	57%
Yes, through mass action	30%
Not necessary	12%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 107: Recalling/removing COSATU representatives (N=641)**

Fifty seven percent of the respondents felt that in the event that COSATU representatives did not work to the satisfaction of the workers, they should be removed or recalled in the next election, 30% felt that COSATU representatives should be recalled or removed through mass action, and twelve percent felt that this was not necessary.

Union Sector	Next election	Through mass action	Not necessary	%	N
Manufacturing	59%	32%	9%	100%	245
Mining	65%	20%	15%	100%	54
Municipal and public sector	56%	31%	14%	100%	223
Transport	55%	45%	0%	100%	20
Other	52%	29%	19%	100%	96
<b>Total</b>	<b>57%</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>12%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>638</b>

**Table 108: Should COSATU representatives be recalled from elected political institutions if they do not do what workers want, by union sector (p>0.05)**

The type of union which respondents belonged to appeared to have no impact on whether they thought that elected representatives should be recalled if they do not do what workers want. The majority of respondents felt that elected representatives should be recalled.

Shop steward	Next election	Through mass action	Not necessary	%	N
Shop stewards	60%	30%	10%	100%	168
Not shop stewards	56%	31%	13%	100%	472
<b>Total</b>	<b>57%</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>12%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>640</b>

**Table 109: Representatives on elected political institutions being removed if they do not do what workers want, by shop stewards (p > 0.05)**

The views of the respondents when it comes to removing COSATU representatives on elected institutions from parliament if they do not do what the workers want are not affected by whether or not the respondents are shop stewards. This means that the respondents share similar views when it comes to representatives on political institutions being removed from parliament if they do not do what the workers want.

## Q57 Consultation of political parties

	%
Consult with supporters on all issues	76
Consult with supporters only on important issues	19
No consultation necessary	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 110: (N=652) Consultation of political parties**

Seventy-six of the respondents felt that political parties needed to consult with their supporters on all issues, while 19% felt that political parties needed to consult with their supporters only on important issues, and 5% felt that consultation between political parties and their supporters was not necessary.

Shop steward	Consult on all issues	Consult on important issues	Does not have to consult	%	N
Shop stewards	81%	17%	2%	100%	171
Not shop stewards	74%	20%	7%	100%	480
<b>Total</b>	<b>76%</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>651</b>

**Table 111: Consultation of political party, by shop steward (p > 0.05)**

The respondents' perceptions on the duties of political parties are not influenced by whether or not the respondents are shop stewards. This means that being a shop steward does not influence the perception of the respondent on what the duties of a political party are.

**Q58 When the party makes decisions in parliament that affects its supporters it must report back to the people that voted for it:**

	%
Every time	75%
Only on major issues	24%
They do not have to report back	1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 112: Report backs of party to supporters (N=651)**

Seventy-five percent of respondents supported the statement that political parties needed to report back to their supporters on decisions that they made in parliament that affected the supporters, while 24% felt that this was necessary only for important issues. One percent of the respondents felt that it was not necessary for the parties to report back to their supporters.

Shop steward	Every time	On major issues	Do not have to	%	N
Shop stewards	78%	22%	0%	100%	171
Not shop stewards	74%	25%	1%	100%	479
<b>Total</b>	<b>75%</b>	<b>24%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>650</b>

**Table 113: Party reporting back to its supporters when it makes decisions that affect its supporters, by shop stewards**

No relationship be established between what the respondents thought about the party reporting back to its supporters when it makes decisions in parliament that affect them and whether or not the respondents are shop stewards because there were not enough cases for us to be able to draw significant conclusions.

Education	Every time	Major issues	No report back	%	N
Primary	67%	29%	4%	100%	55
High	74%	26%	1%	100%	424
Post matric	81%	19%	1%	100%	169
<b>Total</b>	<b>75%</b>	<b>24%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>648</b>

**Table 114: Party reporting back on decisions made in parliament, by education**

The link between education and the need of the party to report back to its supporters on decisions made in parliament could not be established, however, most of the respondents across the education levels seemed to agree that there was a not time when the party should not report back.

Shop steward	Every time	On major issues	Do not have to	%	N
Shop stewards	78%	22%	0%	100%	171
Not shop stewards	74%	25%	1%	100%	479
<b>Total</b>	<b>75%</b>	<b>24%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>650</b>

**Table 115: Party reporting back to its supporters when it makes decisions that affect its supporters, by shop stewards ( $p > 0.05$ )**

Although it appears that there is no relationship between what the respondents thought about the party reporting back to its supporters when it makes decisions in parliament that affect them and whether or not the respondents are shop stewards, no significant conclusions can be made about the relationship because there were not enough cases for us to be able to draw significant conclusions.

**Q59 If the majority of people who vote for a party in an election are workers, then that party:**

	%
Must represent only the interests of workers	6%
Must represent the interests of all its supporters, including those who aren't workers	58%
Must represent the interests of all South Africans, even if workers interests have to be sacrificed	36%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 116: Representatively of party members (N=651)**

The majority of respondents (58%) felt that in a situation whereby the majority of members in a party are workers, the party must still represent the interests of all its supporters regardless of whether they are workers. Thirty-six percent of the respondents felt that the party needed to represent the interests of all South Africans, even if it meant disregarding the interests of workers in favour of those of the rest of the country, while 6% supported the statement that the party must represent only the interests of the workers.

Union Sector	Only workers	All supporters	All South Africans	%	N
Manufacturing	8%	53%	39%	100%	249
Mining	6%	62%	33%	100%	55
Municipal and public sector	4%	66%	30%	100%	225
Transport	5%	45%	50%	100%	20
Other	8%	53%	39%	100%	99
<b>Total</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>58%</b>	<b>36%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>648</b>

**Table 117: Who should political parties represent when the majority of their voters are workers, by union sector (p>0.05)**

There is no significant relationship between the union sector that respondents belong to and who they believe political parties that workers vote for should represent. A minority of respondents from all union sectors agreed that such parties should only represent workers (6% overall).

Education	Only workers	All supporters	All South Africans	%	N
Primary	6%	56%	38%	100%	55
High	7%	54%	39%	100%	425
Post matric	5%	69%	27%	100%	168
<b>Total</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>58%</b>	<b>36%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>648</b>

**Table 118: Who the party should represent if the majority of people who voted for the party are workers, by education <sup>6</sup>(p < 0.05)**

A significant relationship between the respondents' education status and their perceptions on who a party should represent if the majority of the people who voted for the party are workers was established. Respondents with high school education were less likely to say that the party should represent the interests of all supporters and were more likely say that the party should represent the interests of all South Africans even if workers' interests have to be sacrificed. Respondents with post matric qualifications were more likely to indicate that the party should represent the interests of all the party's supporters including those who are not workers but they were less likely to indicate that the party should represent the interests of all South Africans.

<sup>6</sup> It is not possible to report on the respondents who did not have any formal education because there were only 3 respondents out of a total of 648 respondents who answered this question.

## Q60 Factors influencing workers decisions in elections

Factors	Mean rank
The Leadership	2.3
The Policies	2.5
Past performance	3.4
Loyalty to a political tradition	4.0
The community supports it	4.7
Advice of union	5.0
Advice of friends and families	6.0

**Table 119: Average ranking of factors influencing workers decisions in elections**

Respondents were asked to rank in order of importance a list of factors that may influence their decision about which party to vote for, with 1 representing the most important factor to 8 representing the least important. Very few respondents ranked the eighth option 'None of the above', and so it has been excluded from the table. On average, it is clear that most respondents felt that the leadership of the party, and the policies of the party, were the most important factors influencing their decision about which party to vote for. These were followed in order of importance by past performance of the party, loyalty to a political tradition, and community support. On average, the advice of their union was not rated as a very important factor influencing respondents choice of political party, while the advice of family and friends was ranked as the least important factor.

## Q61 Would you prefer to be represented by members of parliament elected through a:

	%
Party list (present system)	39%
Constituency (local area - that is, someone from your area)	34%
Mixed system (such as is the case with local government)	21%
Dont know	7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 120: Preference of form of parliamentary elections (N=649)**

The majority of respondents (39%) expressed preference for the present system of parliamentary elections, which makes use of party lists of candidates. A little over a third of respondents, however, expressed preference for a constituency system, whereby they can vote for someone from their particular area. Around a fifth of respondents elected for a mixed system.



Sector	Party list	Constituency	Mixed	Don't know	%	N
Manufacturing	39%	36%	19%	6%	100%	248
Mining	52%	24%	22%	2%	100%	54
Municipal and public sector	42%	31%	24%	3%	100%	225
Transport	40%	20%	20%	20%	100%	20
Other	23%	39%	20%	17%	100%	99
<b>Total</b>	<b>39%</b>	<b>33%</b>	<b>21%</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>646</b>

**Table 121: Preferred electoral system of respondents, by union sector (p<0.01)**

There appears to be a significant relationship between the union sector of respondents and their preferred electoral system. In particular, respondents from the mining sector were more likely to prefer the present party list system than respondents from other sectors. Furthermore respondents from the transport and other (including) sectors were more likely to respond that they “don’t know” than respondents from other sectors. In comparison, respondents from the municipal and public sector were less likely to respond that they did not know.

## SECTION E: PERSPECTIVES ON THE 2004 ELECTIONS

**Q62 Do you think that the party you intend voting for has worker interests at heart?**

	%
Yes	76%
No	13%
Don't know	11%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 122: Party you intend voting for has workers' interests at heart (N=648)**

A large majority of respondents (76%) felt that the party that they intended voting for in the forthcoming (2004) election had workers' interests at heart. A total of 24% of respondents, close to a fifth, either felt that the party did not have workers' interests at heart, or did not know one way or the other.

Union Sector	Workers interests	No workers interests	Do not know	%	N
Manufacturing	74%	15%	12%	100%	249
Mining	95%	4%	2%	100%	55
Municipal and public sector	75%	16%	10%	100%	225
Transport	70%	15%	15%	100%	20
Other	76%	9%	15%	100%	96
<b>Total</b>	<b>76%</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>645</b>

**Table 123: Party the respondent intends voting for has worker interests at heart, by union sector (p>0.05)**

The union sector of respondents appears to have no impact on whether they feel that the party they intend voting for has worker interests at heart. Generally, across sectors respondents held the perception that the party they intended to vote for had worker interests at heart. The proportion which responded in this way was particularly high for the mining sector.

### Q63 Opinions regarding COSATU alliance with the ANC and SACP

	%
Best way of safeguarding workers interests in parliament	66%
COSATU should not be aligned with any political party	18%
Workers should form their own political party	6%
Do not know	5%
Worker interests in parliament should be represented by SACP alone	4%
Another party could better serve workers interests	2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 124: Opinions regarding COSATU alliance with the ANC and the SACP (N=651)**

Two thirds of respondents felt that the COSATU-ANC-SACP alliance was the best way of safeguarding workers' interests in parliament. The next largest portion of respondents (18%) felt that COSATU should not be aligned with any political party.

Union Sector	Safeguards worker interests	No alignment	Another party	Do not know	%	N
Manufacturing	63%	22%	12%	4%	100%	249
Mining	84%	9%	6%	2%	100%	55
Municipal and public sector	67%	14%	13%	5%	100%	225
Transport	70%	0%	15%	15%	100%	20
Other	60%	22%	10%	8%	100%	99
<b>Total</b>	<b>66%</b>	<b>17%</b>	<b>12%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>648</b>

**Table 125: Perceptions of COSATU alliance with SACP and ANC, by union sector (p<0.05)**

There appears to be a significant relationship between union sector and the perceptions of respondents of the tripartite alliance. In particular, respondents from the mining sector were more likely than other respondents to view the alliance as the best way to safeguard worker interests. Respondents from the transport sector were the least likely to respond that COSATU should not be aligned to a party and the most likely to respond that they did not know.

Region	Approval	Other party	No political party	Do not know	%	N
Gauteng	63%	15%	19%	3%	100%	237
Western Cape	57%	14%	21%	7%	100%	141
KZN	59%	9%	24%	8%	100%	101
North West Province	84%	7%	7%	2%	100%	43
Eastern Cape	78%	7%	10%	5%	100%	129
<b>Total</b>	<b>66%</b>	<b>12%</b>	<b>18%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>651</b>

**Table 126: Alliance with political party by, COSATU region ( $p < 0.05$ )**

A significant relationship was established between the COSATU regions that workers came from and what they thought about COSATU's alliance with the ANC and SACP to contest the 2004 elections. Although respondents from the North West Province (84%) seem to approve the most of COSATU's alliance with the ANC and SACP, respondents from the Eastern Cape were actually more likely to approve of the alliance that COSATU had entered into with the ANC and the SACP. This could be due to the fact that only a few respondents (43) came from the North West Province and most of them approved of the alliance thus yielding a higher percentage. Respondents from the Eastern Cape were less likely to say that COSATU should not be affiliated with any political party.

Occupational category	Approval	Approval of other party	No political party	Do not know	%	N
Unskilled	69%	16%	7%	7%	100%	81
Semi-skilled	71%	11%	15%	3%	100%	168
Skilled	62%	12%	22%	5%	100%	273
Supervisor	67%	5%	25%	3%	100%	60
Clerical	60%	13%	15%	13%	100%	55
<b>Total</b>	<b>66%</b>	<b>12%</b>	<b>18%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>637</b>

**Table 127: COSATU's alliance with the ANC and SACP to contest the 2004 elections, by occupational category ( $p < 0.05$ )**

The respondents' occupational category seems to determine whether or not the respondents approved of COSATU's alliance with the ANC and SACP to contest the 2004 elections. Respondents who considered themselves to be skilled were more likely to indicate that COSATU should not be aligned with any political party while respondents who considered themselves to be unskilled were less likely to say the same. Respondents who considered themselves to fall under the clerical category were more likely to say that they did not know if COSATU should be aligned with the ANC and SACP.

Education	Approval	Other party	No party	Do not know	%	N
Primary	67%	11%	13%	9%	100%	55
High	66%	12%	17%	5%	100%	426
Post matric	65%	10%	20%	5%	100%	167
<b>Total</b>	<b>66%</b>	<b>12%</b>	<b>17%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>648</b>

**Table 128: Approval of COSATU's alliance with the ANC and SACP to contest the 2004 elections, by education ( $p > 0.05$ )**

The respondent's education status does not have an impact on the respondent's approval or disapproval of COSATU's alliance with the ANC and SACP as no significant relationship was established.

Shop steward	Approval	Approval of other party	No political party	Do not know	%	N
Shop steward	69%	12%	17%	3%	100%	169
Not shop steward	64%	12%	18%	6%	100%	480
<b>Total</b>	<b>66%</b>	<b>12%</b>	<b>18%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>649</b>

**Table 129: COSATU's alliance with the ANC and SACP to contest the 2004 elections, by shop steward ( $p > 0.05$ )**

There is no significant relationship between the respondents' perceptions of COSATU's alliance with the ANC and SACP to contest the 2004 elections and whether or not the respondents are shop stewards. This means that what the respondents think of COSATU's alliance with the ANC and SACP is not influenced by the position that the respondent holds.

### Q64 Do you think that this alliance should continue and contest the election after 2004?

	%
Yes	64%
No, COSATU should not be aligned with any political party	15%
No, COSATU should form its own party	7%
COSATU should maintain its alliance only with the SACP	4%
COSATU should maintain its alliance only with the ANC	4%
Do not know	7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 130: The COSATU-ANC-SACP alliance should continue after 2004 (N=650)**

Nearly two thirds of the respondents (64%) felt that the COSATU-ANC-SACP alliance should continue, and contest the election after 2004. The remaining 46% felt that either the alliance should discontinue, or be adjusted. Fifteen per cent of respondents thought that COSATU should not be aligned with any political party, while 7% felt that COSATU should form its own party.

View on alliance	Shop steward	Not shop steward	Total
Yes	66%	64%	64%
No political party	16%	15%	15%
Own party	8%	6%	7%
Alliance with SACP only	5%	4%	4%
Alliance with ANC only	3%	4%	4%
Do not know	3%	8%	6%
%	100%	100%	100%
<b>N</b>	<b>169</b>	<b>479</b>	<b>648</b>

**Table 131: Alliance should continue and contest the election after 2004 (for 2009), by shop steward (p > 0.05)**

Whether the respondent was a shop steward or not did not influence what respondents think about the alliance continuing and contesting the election after 2004 (for 2009).

Union sector	Yes to alliance	No/not in present form	%	N
Manufacturing	63%	38%	100%	248
Mining	87%	13%	100%	55
Municipal and public sector	64%	36%	100%	225
Transport	60%	40%	100%	20
Other	56%	44%	100%	99
<b>Total</b>	<b>64%</b>	<b>36%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>647</b>

**Table 132: Alliance should contest next elections by union sector (p<0.01)**

The appears to be a significant relationship between the union sector that respondents belonged to and whether they felt that the COSATU-ANC-SACP alliance should continue and contest the election after 2004. While it is clear that most respondents across all unions felt that the alliance should continue, respondents that belonged to mining unions were significantly more likely to support the future alliance of the ANC, the SACP, and COSATU, and were consequently less likely to object to the alliance or suggest some alteration in COSATU's political alliances.

### Q65 Which party are you going to vote for in the forthcoming (2004) national elections?

Political Party	%
ANC	73%
AZAPO	0%
Democratic Alliance	1%
Inkatha Freedom Party	1%
New National Party	1%
PAC	1%
UDM	1%
Independent Democrats	1%
Do not intend to vote	5%
Other (please specify)	1%
Would not say	16%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 133: Party voted for in forthcoming (2004) national elections (N=648)**

As can be seen above, a large majority of respondents (73%) said that they intended to vote for the ANC in the forthcoming (2004) national elections. By contrast, only 1% of respondents said that they would vote for the Democratic alliance, with the same proportion of respondents supporting Inkatha Freedom Party and the New National Party. Sixteen per cent of respondents would not say which party they intended to vote for in the forthcoming elections.

Only 1% of respondents mentioned parties other than those included in the questions. These parties included the African Christian Democratic Party and the Economic Employment Movement.



Sector	ANC	Other	Do not intend to vote	Would not say	%	N
Manufacturing	68%	10%	6%	17%	100%	249
Mining	96%	0%	0%	4%	100%	55
Municipal and public sector	78%	6%	1%	14%	100%	222
Transport	75%	0%	5%	20%	100%	20
Other	61%	4%	10%	25%	100%	99
<b>Total</b>	<b>73%</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>645</b>

**Table 134: Which party are respondents going to vote for in the 2004 elections, by union sector (p<0.01)**

There is a significant relationship between union sector and the party which respondents from different sectors plan to vote for in the 2004 election. In particular, respondents from the mining sector were most likely to respond that they were going to vote for the ANC. Respondents from the mining sector were also least likely to respond that they intended to vote for another party and were the least likely to respond that they “would not say”. Respondents from the manufacturing sector were the most likely to respond that they intended to vote for a political party that was not the ANC. A relatively lower proportions of respondents from the municipal and public sector, than the other sectors noted that they did not intend to vote. Lastly, respondents from the “other” union sectors were the most likely to respond that did not intend to vote or would not say who they would vote for. Generally a majority of respondents across all union sectors indicated that they intended to vote for the ANC.

Education	ANC	Other party	Not voting	Would not say	%	N
Primary	76%	7%	2%	15%	100%	55
High	73%	6%	5%	16%	100%	416
Post matric	75%	2%	5%	17%	100%	166
<b>Total</b>	<b>74%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>637</b>

**Table 135: Votes for 2004 national elections, by education (p > 0.05)**

There is no significant relationship between the respondents’ education status and who the respondent is going to vote for during the 2004 national elections. This means that education status does not have an impact on which political party the respondent supports.

Shop steward	ANC	Other party	Do not intend to vote	Would not say	%	N
Shop steward	83%	2%	3%	12%	100%	168
Not shop steward	71%	6%	5%	17%	100%	469
<b>Total</b>	<b>74%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>637</b>

**Table 136: Votes for 2004 national elections, by shop stewards ( $p < 0.05$ )**

The parties that the respondents' decisions of which parties they are going to vote for appear to be influenced by whether or not the respondents are shop stewards. Respondents who indicated that they are shop stewards were more likely to say that they were going to vote for the ANC while the respondents who said they were not shop stewards were more likely to say that they were going to vote for other political parties.

Region	Approval	Other party	Do not intend to vote	Would not say	%	N
Gauteng	81%	5%	2%	13%	100%	236
North West Province	98%	0%	0%	2%	100%	43
KZN	61%	9%	8%	22%	100%	100
Eastern Cape	79%	2%	2%	18%	100%	126
Western Cape	59%	9%	11%	21%	100%	135
<b>Total</b>	<b>74%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>640</b>

**Table 137: Political party to vote for during the 2004 national elections by, COSATU region ( $p < 0.01$ )**

There is a link between COSATU regions and the parties which the workers intended to vote for during the 2004 national elections. Respondents from the North West Province were more likely to vote for the ANC while respondents from the Western Cape were less likely to vote for the ANC, instead they were more likely to vote for other political parties. At the same time, respondents from the Western Cape were more likely not to vote during the 2004 national elections. Respondents from the North West Province were less likely not to say who they intended voting for during the 2004 national elections.

### Q66 Which party are you going to vote for in the forthcoming (2004) provincial elections?

	%
ANC	73%
AZAPO	0%
Democratic Alliance	1%
Inkatha Freedom Party	1%
New National Party	1%
PAC	1%
UDM	1%
Independent Democrats	1%
Do not intend to vote	5%
Other (please specify)	1%
Would not say	15%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 138: Party to vote for in forthcoming (2004) provincial elections (N=643)**

As with the responses to which party respondents intended voting for in the national elections, 73% said that they intended voting for the ANC in the provincial elections. The voting patterns for provincial elections, in fact, are very close to those for the national elections.

Region	ANC	Other party	Do not intend to vote	Would not say	%	N
Gauteng	80%	5%	3%	13%	100%	235
North West Province	98%	0%	0%	2%	100%	43
KZN	65%	9%	7%	19%	100%	96
Eastern Cape	77%	2%	2%	19%	100%	126
Western Cape	59%	10%	11%	19%	100%	135
<b>Total</b>	<b>74%</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>635</b>

**Table 139: Political party to vote for during the provincial elections by, the COSATU region (p < 0.01)**

There is a significant relationship appears to exist between the COSATU regions and the political parties that the workers intended to vote for during the 2004 provincial elections. Respondents from the North West Province were more likely to vote for the ANC during the provincial elections while respondents from the Western Cape were less likely to vote for the ANC. Respondents from the Western Cape were more likely to vote for other political parties other than the ANC. At the same time, respondents from the Western Cape were more likely

not to vote. Respondents from the North West Province were less likely not to say who they were going to vote for during the provincial elections.

<b>Shop steward</b>	<b>ANC</b>	<b>Other party</b>	<b>Do not intend to vote</b>	<b>Would not say</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>
Shop steward	82%	3%	3%	12%	100%	167
Not shop steward	71%	7%	5%	17%	100%	467
<b>Total</b>	<b>74%</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>634</b>

**Table 140: Votes for 2004 provincial elections, by shop stewards ( $p < 0.05$ )**

Whether or not the respondents are shop stewards seems to influence which party they are going to vote for during the 2004 provincial elections. Respondents who indicated that they are shop stewards were more likely to say that they were going to vote for the ANC while respondents that are not shop stewards were less likely to say that they were going to vote for the ANC.

## SECTION F: POLITICAL PROGRAMMES AND WORKERS' EXPECTATIONS OF THE SYSTEM DELIVERING

**Q67 Have the following services been provided or improved since the 1999 elections in your area?**

Service	%
Access to clean water	87%
Access to electricity	87%
Access to a telephone	82%
Access to education and training	68%
A clean and healthy living and working environment	63%
Better public transport	61%
Better housing	61%
Access to land	58%
Access to better health care	58%
Enough nutritional food	54%
Provision of HIV/AIDS treatment, education and support	49%
Higher wages	37%
Jobs	17%

**Table 141: Services provided or improved in local area since the 1999 elections**

Respondents identified access to clean water and electricity (87% each) as the two main services that had been either newly installed or improved in the local areas since the 1999 national elections. Eighty-two per cent of respondents said that access to telephone had been improved since the last elections, while 68% of respondents had seen improvements in education and training in their local area. Generally, most respondents had seen improvements in various aspects of their daily lives since the 1999 elections, with the exception of provision of HIV/AIDS treatment, education and support, higher wages, and jobs. With respect to the latter, only 17% of respondents said that they had seen an improvement in the provision of jobs in their local areas since the 1999 elections.

**Q68 Which of the following areas would you like to see improvements in after the elections? Rank in order of importance from 1 to 14**

	<b>Mean rank</b>
Better housing	4.2
Jobs	4.4
Higher wages	4.7
Provision of HIV/AIDS treatment, education and support	6.6
Access to clean water	6.6
Access to better health care	6.7
Access to education and training	6.7
Enough nutritional food	7.2
Access to land	7.3
A clean and healthy working environment	8.0
Access to electricity	8.1
Better public transport	8.5
Access to telephone	10.1
<b>Other</b>	<b>13.0</b>

**Table 142: Areas in which respondents would like to see improvements after the next elections.**

Respondents were presented with a list of services that government could potentially provide after the next elections, and asked to rank them in order of importance with 1 representing the most important service that they would like to see improved after the next elections, to 14 representing the least important service.

On average, improvements in the quality of housing, the provision of jobs, and higher wages were ranked by respondents as the most important areas in which they would like to see improvements after the next elections. These were followed in order of importance by the provision of HIV/AIDS treatment, education and support, and access to clean water, better health care, and education and training.

A clean working environment and access to electricity and better public transport were not ranked very highly, with access to telephones being ranked as the least important area in which respondents would like to see improvements.

## Q69 Worker response if government fails to deliver benefits

Action taken	%
Pressurize unionists in parliament	86%
On-going mass action	73%
Vote for another party in the 2009 election	42%
Form an alternative party	38%
Do nothing	5%

**Table 143: Worker response if the government elected in the next election fails to deliver benefits**

A large portion of workers (86%) said that they are prepared to put pressure on unionists in parliament should the government voted into power in the next election fail to deliver most of the benefits mentioned above. Seventy-three per cent of respondents said that they were prepared to participate in and on-going mass action to force the government to deliver on its promises, while 42% said that they would vote for another party in the next election. Only 5% of respondents said that they would do nothing should the next government fail to deliver the expected services.

## Q70 Primary goal of black economic empowerment

Goal of BEE	%
Empower workers through skill development	52%
Promote black ownership of companies	20%
Promote small business	11%
Greater state control of the economy	10%
Increase the number of black managers	5%
Other (specify)	3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 144: What should be the primary goal of black economic empowerment (N=646)**

The majority of respondents (52%) said that the primary goal of Black Economic Empowerment should be to empower workers through skill development. The next largest portion of respondents (20%) said that BEE should be about promoting black ownership of companies. Only 11% of respondents said that BEE should be about promoting small businesses, while 10% said that it should be about promoting greater state control of the economy.

Goal	Manufacturing	Mining	Municipal and public sector	Transport	Other	Total
Black ownership	28%	26%	21%	20%	23%	24%
Small business	12%	9%	12%	15%	6%	11%
Empower workers	48%	51%	55%	50%	56%	52%
State control of economy	8%	11%	11%	15%	12%	10%
Other	4%	4%	0%	0%	3%	3%
%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	247	55	224	20	97	643

**Table 145: Primary goal of black economic empowerment, by union sector (p>0.05)**

No conclusions could be made concerning the significance of the relationship between union sector and respondents perceptions of the primary goal of black economic empowerment.

Occupational category	Unskilled	Semi-skilled	Skilled	Supervisor	Clerical	Total
Black ownership	22%	25%	18%	17%	19%	20%
Small business	9%	13%	12%	9%	7%	11%
Black managers	10%	3%	4%	3%	6%	5%
Empower workers	46%	47%	54%	63%	54%	52%
State control of economy	10%	9%	11%	7%	13%	10%
Other	4%	4%	2%	2%	2%	3%
%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	79	165	273	59	54	630

**Table 146: Primary goal of black economic empowerment, by occupational category**

No significant relationship could be established between occupational category and the primary goal of black economic empowerment because there were not enough cases to enable any conclusion to be drawn.



<b>Education</b>	<b>Primary</b>	<b>High</b>	<b>Post matric</b>	<b>Total</b>
Promote black ownership	19%	20%	22%	20%
Promote small business	11%	11%	10%	11%
Increase black managers	7%	5%	2%	5%
Empower workers	52%	50%	57%	52%
State control of economy	6%	11%	10%	10%
Other	6%	3%	0%	3%
%	100%	100%	100%	100%
<b>N</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>420</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>641</b>

**Table 147: Primary goal of black economic empowerment, by education ( $p > 0.05$ )**

There is no link between what the primary goal of black economic empowerment should be and level of education of the respondents.

<b>Shop steward</b>	<b>Shop steward</b>	<b>Not shop steward</b>	<b>Total</b>
Promote black ownership	22%	20%	20%
Promote small business	9%	11%	11%
Increase black managers	2%	5%	4%
Empower workers	56%	51%	52%
State control of the economy	10%	10%	10%
Other	2%	3%	3%
%	100%	100%	100%
<b>N</b>	<b>169</b>	<b>474</b>	<b>643</b>

**Table 148: Goals of black economic empowerment, by shop steward ( $p < 0.05$ )**

There is no significant relationship between what the respondents think the goals of black economic empowerment should be and whether or not the respondents are shop stewards. This means that the views that the respondents have about the goals of black economic are not influenced by the positions that the respondents hold in their unions.

**Q71 Which leader in South Africa represents worker interests best?**

<b>Leader</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
Mandela	127	20%
Vavi	100	16%
Blade Nzimande	62	10%
Thabo Mbeki	47	7%
Willie Madisha	38	6%
M Mdladlana	35	5%
Mbazima Shilowa	31	5%
Cyril Ramaphosa	16	3%
Tony Leon	7	1%
Patricia de Lille	5	1%
Jay Naidoo	5	1%
Gedleyihlelosa Zuma	5	1%
COSATU	5	1%
Ebrahim Patel	4	1%
De Klerk	4	1%
Mantashe	3	1%
ANC	3	1%
Trevor Manuel	2	0%
Tony Ehrenreich	2	0%
Tito Mboweni	2	0%
Shop steward	2	0%
Sbu Ndebele	2	0%
Phillip Dexter	2	0%
Molefi Olifant	2	0%
Gemomo	2	0%
Buthlezi	2	0%
Bulelani Ngcuka	2	0%
Vusi Nhlapho	1	0%
Snookie Zikalala	1	0%
Skweyiya	1	0%
Sipho Ngcebesho	1	0%
Sidney Mufamadi	1	0%
Sanele Mandashe	1	0%
SACCAWU leader	1	0%
Saamai Mohamed	1	0%

Nqonde Balfour	1	0%
NNP	1	0%
Myles Bhudu	1	0%
Murphy Morobi	1	0%
Mtutuzeli Tom	1	0%
Mosioa Lekota	1	0%
Martinus van Schalkwyk	1	0%
Mantwa Msimang	1	0%
Jeff Radebe	1	0%
Jacky Slele	1	0%
Hannekop Land Issues	1	0%
Geraldine Fraser	1	0%
Edwin Cameron	1	0%
Chris Madikana	1	0%
Charles Nqalala	1	0%
Cebekulu	1	0%
Bishop Nobel	1	0%
Bantu Holomisa	1	0%
Archie Philane	1	0%
Would not say	99	15%
<b>Total</b>	<b>643</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 149: Which leader in South Africa represents workers interests best?**

The leader most mentioned by respondents as the leader in South Africa who represents worker interests best was Nelson Mandela, mentioned by 20% of respondents. Mandela was followed by Zwelinzima Vavi as leader most mentioned by respondents. Sixteen per cent said that Vavi best represented workers interests in South Africa, while 10% of respondents mentioned Blade Nzimande as the South African leader who best represents workers' interests.

For purposes of analysis, leaders mentioned by respondents were regrouped into five categories: "ANC", "COSATU", "Civil Society", "Other" and "Could not say". All leaders from the ANC, including Nelson Mandela, were grouped into the "ANC" category, leaders from COSATU unions were included in the "COSATU" category, leaders from all other political parties, including the SACP were recoded as "other", while religious and community leaders were recoded as "Civil society".

Leader's grouping	%
ANC	43%
COSATU	26%
Could not say or none	14%
Civil Society	4%
Other	13%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 150: Which leader in South Africa represents worker interests best? (N=643)**

Most respondents (43%) said that various ANC leaders (such as Thabo Mbeki, Shepard Ndladlana, Mosioa Lekota, and others), would represent worker interests best. A little over one quarter of respondents nominated COSATU leaders.

Sector	Manufacturing	Mining	Municipal and public sector	Transport	Other	Total
ANC	43%	47%	46%	37%	33%	43%
COSATU	28%	33%	26%	21%	20%	26%
Other	12%	11%	16%	16%	10%	13%
Civil Society	5%	7%	2%	0%	4%	4%
Could not say/ none	12%	2%	11%	26%	32%	14%
%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
<b>N</b>	<b>245</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>222</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>640</b>

**Table 151: Which leader in South Africa represents worker interests best, by union sector (p<0.01)**

There is a significant relationship between union sector and the leaders which respondents felt best represent worker interests. In particular, respondents from the mining sector were the least likely to respond that they could not say or that there were no leaders which best represented worker interests. In addition, respondents from the other union sectors (including) were the least likely to respond that ANC leaders best represented worker interests and were the most likely to respond that they could not say or that there were no such leaders.

Region	Gauteng	North West Province	KZN	Eastern Cape	Western Cape	Total
ANC	47%	49%	36%	35%	45%	43%
Trade union	29%	33%	19%	33%	18%	26%
Other	9%	12%	12%	18%	16%	13%
Civil Society	7%	7%	1%	0%	4%	4%
None	7%	0%	32%	14%	18%	14%
%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	234	43	98	129	139	643

**Table 152: Leaders to represent worker interests, by COSATU regions (p < 0.01)**

There is a link between who the respondents think would best represent worker interests and the regions that the respondents come from. Respondents from the Eastern Cape were less likely to say that ANC and civil society leadership would best represent worker interests instead, they were more likely to say that trade union leadership would best represent worker interests. While respondents from the Eastern Cape were more likely to be of the view that trade union leadership would best represent worker interests, respondents from the Western Cape were less likely to share the same view. On the one hand, respondents from Gauteng and North West Province were less likely to indicate that no leader would best represent worker interest while on the other hand respondents from KZN were more likely to say that no leader would best represent worker interests. Respondents from Gauteng seemed to be the only respondents who were more likely to say that civil society would best represent worker interests.